

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8368

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 19458

NODIS

DEPARTMENT PASS MASERU FOR SCHAUFEELE

DEPARTMENT PASS GENEVA FOR WISNER

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, RH, UK

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: CONVERSATION WITH DUFF

1. AMBASSADOR SPAIN (EN ROUTE TO WASHINGTON FOR CONSULTATIONS) AND EMBASSY OFFICER DECEMBER 1 CALLED ON TONY DUFF AND HEADS OF DEPARTMENT PATRICK LAVER (RHODESIA) AND MARTIN EWANS (EAST AFRICA). DISCUSSION LED TO SPECULATION ABOUT NYERERE'S CONCEPT OF POWER AND HOW IT SHOULD BE TRANSFERRED IN RHODESIA. FROM NYERERE'S MOST RECENT STATEMENTS, HE SEEMS TO BELIEVE THAT THE PURPOSE OF GENEVA IS TO ESTABLISH A STRUCTURE IN WHICH WHITES IMMEDIATELY SURRENDER POWER, NOT GRADUALLY OR METHODICALLY TRANSFER IT. HE DOES NOT ACCEPT THE CONCEPT OF TEMPORARY POWER-SHARING BETWEEN THE TWO COMMUNITIES. DUFF AND LAVER WERE HESITANT TO CONCEDE THAT NYERERE SEES BRITAIN AS THE ULTIMATE REPOSITORY OF POWER DURING THE TRANSITIONAL STAGE. HIS THINKING IS IMPRECISE ON WHERE AND HOW THE POWER SHOULD BE TRANSFERRED, THEY SAID. AMONG OTHER ELEMENTS IDENTIFIED IN NYERERE'S PRESENT THINKING ON RHODESIA WERE: A) NYERERE IS A RADICAL AND HE EXPECTS A RADICAL SOLUTION IN RHODESIA; HE IS PROBABLY WILLING TO ACCEPT LESS, BUT HIS GOAL IS A REVOLUTIONARY,

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SOCIALIST STATE THAT FITS THE EAST AFRICA PATTERN OF

TANZANIA AND MOZAMBIQUE; B) NYERERE CANNOT ACCEPT THAT SMITH HAS ANY ROLE TO PLAY IN RHODESIA AFTER THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT IS ESTABLISHED AND DOES NOT EVEN BELIEVE HE SHOULD HAVE MUCH SAY IN THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS; BRITISH AND AMERICAN HARPING ABOUT "SMITH'S PROBLEMS" OR "SMITH'S POWER" OR "SMITH'S CONSTITUENCY" ONLY REINFORCES NYERERE'S SUSPICION THAT GENEVA IS A STALKING HORSE FOR WESTERN IMPERIALISM; C) NYERERE HAS A GENUINE ATTACHMENT TO "THE BOYS", THE HARD-LINE GUERRILLAS; HE WOULD FIND IT HARD TO CONCEIVE OF A SOLUTION IN RHODESIA WHICH EXCLUDES "THE BOYS" FROM A PROMINENT AND PERHAPS DOMINANT ROLE.

2. THE FINAL POINT LED DUFF TO SPECULATE THAT ANY SETTLEMENT IN GENEVA THAT DID NOT INCLUDE SIGNIFICANT ZIPA ELEMENTS WOULD PROBABLY FAIL TO WIN THE ENDORSEMENT OF ALL THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS. "A SEPARATE AGREEMENT WITH NKOMO, MUZOREWA, SITHOLE AND EVEN MUGABE," HE SAID "COULD PERHAPS BE THE WORST POSSIBLE OUTCOME." HE ADDED THAT MUZOREWA DISAGREED. THE BISHOP BELIEVES THAT IN A SEPARATE PEACE, MANY OF THE GUERRILLAS WOULD SIMPLY COME HOME AND THAT THE SECURITY FORCES OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT COULD HANDLE WHATEVER REMAINED. EMBASSY OFFICER SUGGESTED THAT A SEPARATE AGREEMENT, PARTICULARLY ONE WHICH INCLUDED MUGABE, WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR NYERERE AND MACHEL TO REJECT SIMPLY BECAUSE RHODESIA WAS NOT TO BE CREATED IN THEIR OWN IMAGE. ZAPU GUERRILLAS WOULD LAY DOWN THEIR ARMS, AND BOTH SITHOLE AND MUZOREWA STILL ENJOY SUPPORT WITHIN ZANU RANKS. AN AGREEMENT WHICH NINE MONTHS AGO WOULD HAVE BEEN HAILED AS A MIRACLE OF NATIONAL LIBERATION COULD NOT NOW BE EASILY DISMISSED OUT OF HAND. LAVER AQREED BUT SAID THAT ZIPA AS A POLITICAL FORCE IS GROWING STRONGER EVERY DAY. THE NEW "HIGH COMMAND" DELEGATION FROM MAPUTO, ALTHOUGH ATTACHED TO MUGABE, WILL MAKE THE ZIPA PRESENCE EVEN MORE POWERFUL IN GENEVA AND ADD NEW URGENCY TO ACHIEVING A QUICK SETTLEMENT. DUFF SAID THAT OBASANJO IS TRYING TO BECOME THE "SIXTH FRONT LINE PRESIDENT" WHICH ALSO GIVES NEW WEIGHT TO THE RADICAL WING AND PROMISES ANOTHER ANGOLA-STYLE DIVISION IN AFRICA IF A SEPARATE PEACE IS CONCLUDED.

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DED. (THERE WAS CLEARLY SOME DIFFERENCE OF OPINION BETWEEN DUFF AND LAVER ON THE CONSEQUENCES OF A SETTLEMENT WHICH DID NOT INCLUDE ZIPA.)

3. DUFF SAID THAT IN THE LAST MONTH NKOMO HAD GAINED THE UPPER HAND OVER MUGABE WITHIN THE PATRIOTIC FRONT.

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MUGABE HAD COME TO RELY MORE AND MORE ON NKOMO AS A COUNTERWEIGHT TO THE RADICALS WITHIN HIS OWN DELEGATION. DUFF DESCRIBED THREE TYPES OF ZIPA ADVISERS IN THE MUGABE CAMP: A) THOSE WHO WANT NO AGREEMENT AT ALL; B) THOSE WHO DO NOT WANT TO BE LEFT OUT IF AN AGREEMENT IS CONCLUDED; AND C) THOSE WHO SIMPLY DO NOT UNDERSTAND THAT GENEVA IS MEANT TO BE A NEGOTIATING PROCESS AND NOT A SURRENDER CEREMONY. HE SAID MUGABE OFTEN SEEMED A PUPPET PULLED BY THESE DIFFERENT STRINGS. NKOMO HAS NO DIRECT CONTACT WITH ZIPA BUT JASON MOYO HAS PROVED AN EFFECTIVE EMISSARY.

4. DUFF ADDED THAT SALIM APPEARS TO REFLECT NYERERE'S VIEWS AT THE CONFERENCE, AND IS THE BRIGHTEST AND MOST DEVIOUS OF THE OBSERVERS. HE COMMENTED THAT CHONA'S DESCRIPTION OF AN ACCEPTABLE INTERIM GOVERNMENT (LONDON 18741; GENEVA 9552) WAS "STRAIGHT PATRIOTIC FRONT THINKING." DUFF SAID THAT THUS FAR THE BEST HAND AT GENEVA HAS BEEN PLAYED BY SITHOLE. INVITED TO THE CONFERENCE AT THE LAST MOMENT, SITHOLE BY HIS REASONABLENESS HAS AT LEAST BROUGHT HIMSELF UP TO MUZOREWA'S LEVEL OF INFLUENCE.

5. COMMENT: AFTER FIVE WEEKS IN GENEVA, DUFF HAS NOT RETURNED TO LONDON BRIMMING WITH OPTIMISM. HE LIKELY HAS PRIVATE DOUBTS THAT THE CONFERENCE CAN ACHIEVE AN AGREEMENT WHICH IS SIGNIFICANTLY BROAD-BASED (BY WHICH HE MEANS INCLUDES ZIPA HARD-LINERS) AND WHICH AT THE SAME

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TIME BEARS ANY RESEMBLANCE TO ANNEX C.

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